2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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[618] tendaanaship and in other religious cults. Each segment has its own tendaana, the Gbizug tendaana being the senior of the two, and in addition the Gbeogdem have the cult of the External *Bɔyar*, like Zubiuŋ and the Hill Talis, whereas the Gbizugdem do not participate in this cult. This cleavage comes into operation also in the political and jural relations of the two segments, so that in very many situations Gbeog emerges as an independent settlement.

Both segments have ties of clanship with Soog, the Talis clan sandwiched between Tongo and Wakii. But there is an additional bond between Gbeog and Soog, which is not shared by Gbizug, for one-half of Gbeog is associated with Soog in a common cult of an External *Bɔyar*, in the same way as the three sections of Zubiuŋ are associated in the cult of their External *Bɔyar*, Duunkpalɔg. The other half of Gbeog has a separate External *Bɔyar*. Gbizug has ties of clanship also with Degal, the Tenzugu clan, in virtue of the alleged 'brotherhood' of the four primordial tendaanas. Yet Wakii and Ka'ar, the clans sprung from the other two primordial tendaanas, are merely the *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy of Gbizug, though both, and especially Wakii, have closer spatial, jural, and ritual relations with it than Degal has.

[608] Soogdem have no ties of clanship with Zubiuŋ, but regard them as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy. They are linked by a ritual relationship which comes into effect whenever a Zubiuŋ tendaana dies. There was for a long time an estrangement between the two clans, because some years ago a Zubiuŋ youth married the ex-wife of a Soog man. A ceremonial reconciliation [627] under somewhat dramatic circumstances took place recently when ritual necessity compelled the elders of the offender's lineage to send a deputation to beg the pardon of the Soog elders. Apart from this intermittent and very limited ritual collaboration, the clanship-by-courtesy of Soog and Zubiuŋ is very weak. One of the standing jokes in Zubiuŋ concerned two [735] of the lineage heads of Soog. These two old men are notoriously poor through bodily infirmity, and therefore make use of every opportunity of getting free food or drink. Thus, whenever there is a funeral at Zubiuŋ they appear as representatives of their clan to claim their share of beer and meat as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy; but Zubiuŋdem have long ceased to go to Soog funerals.

From Ba'ari the mesh of clan linkages continues across the dialectal boundary with the Gorisi. Ba'at-Sakpar has clanship ties with Sanaab biis, a section of Bolɔga. 'They are our kinsmen', said the Ba'at-Sakpar tendaana-elect, 'even though they have become Gorisi.' Another Bolɔga section are similarly related to Ba'at-Lakum yiri. Ba'at-Guŋ, on the other hand, have ties of clanship with Tamboog on Tenzugu, and Ba'at-Dun biis have ties of clanship with Samiit on Tenzugu. Yayazuor and Gbee are *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy to all sections of Ba'ari.

The internal constitution of Ba'ari is interesting, in that the whole clan is grouped around Ba'at-Sakpar. Thus, Ba'at-Lakum yiri has the status of an attached lineage of Sakpar. Their founding ancestor was said to have been a sororal nephew of Sakpar, begotten by a Zubiuŋ man—hence also their ties with Zubiuŋ; and Ba'at-Guŋ is similarly an attached lineage of Lakum yiri. Being related to Sakpar by a remove, Guŋ is allowed to